



The challenges of cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean

Lluís Bonet and Héctor Schargorodsky (Eds.)

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THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN UNION - LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS THROUGH THE LENS OF CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES OF MOBILITY, INEQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

Peter BIRLE, Barbara GÖBEL and Jakob KRUSCHE

Abstract

Since the 1980s, culture has gained importance as a field of the European Union's international cooperation. The contribution analyses the cultural dimension of the relations between the European Union and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) through the lens of four cross-cutting topics: mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. These cross-cutting issues were chosen because they are paradigmatic key concepts encapsulating a broader spectrum of themes and problems. They also address significant aspects of bi-regional relations and are of strategic relevance for the EU-CELAC bi-regional agenda. Furthermore, they play an important role within the UN framework. First, it will be described how the cultural dimension is integrated into the respective regional cooperation in Europe and in Latin America and the Caribbean. Secondly, the relationship between the EU and (CE)LAC in the cultural dimension is analysed, taking mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability into account. As an outcome of this analysis achievements and challenges are summarised in the last section. In this way we want to make a contribution to develop the cultural dimension of bi-regional relations further.

3.1 Introduction

Since the 1980s, culture has grown in relevance as a field of international cooperation. It has gained importance in the external relations of the European Union (EU) and in its collaboration with Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Nevertheless, cultural policy remains primarily a domain of national governments. Additional players in the realm of international cultural cooperation are state cultural institutions, civil society organisations and the cultural industries. There exist some specific cultural organisations that are based on a joint history and cultural communalities such as the Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (OEI), the Commonwealth Foundation and the Organisation Internationale pour la Francophonie (KEA European Affairs, 2016: 33-44). They address a variety of cultural topics like language, literature, theatre and music. It is only by looking at the broad spectrum and multifaceted aspects of these relationships that it becomes evident why so many politicians repeatedly emphasise the «common cultural heritage» and the «diversity of European-Latin American and Caribbean cultural relations».

The following contribution analyses the cultural dimension of the relations between the European Union and Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) through the lens of four cross-cutting topics: mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. These cross-cutting issues were chosen because they are paradigmatic key concepts encapsulating a broader spectrum of themes and problems. They also address significant aspects of bi-regional relations and are of strategic relevance for the EU-CELAC bi-regional agenda. Furthermore, they play an important role within the UN framework. Mobility is mainly understood as «exchange», «interaction» or «circulation» between both regions. This includes mobility of people (e.g. artists, brokers), of items (e.g. goods, services), of knowledge (e.g. expertise, techniques) and of cultural practices. Inequality is mainly addressed in indirect ways through the notion of «equality». Culture is envisioned as an important dimension to reduce social exclusion and to promote social cohesion and social inclusion. Diversity is recognised to be a fundamental aspect of EU-CELAC relations and a key feature of cooperation in the field of cultural industries. The definition of «cultural diversity» provided by the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions provides an important conceptual basis for bi-regional cooperation. The topic of sustainability plays a less prominent role within the cultural dimension of relations between the EU and LAC. It is mainly connected with the challenge of development. Important examples are the preservation of cultural heritage, the fostering of cultural industries and the promotion of cultural diversity. The cultural dimension of bi-regional relations is displayed either as a factor that contributes to sustainable development or vice versa as an area conditioned by sustainable development.

We will first describe how the cultural dimension is integrated into the respective regional cooperation as well in Europe as in LAC. Then, we will analyse the cultural dimension of

the relationship between the EU and (CE)LAC through the lens of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. In the last section, we will point out a series of achievements and challenges with a view to shaping the cultural dimension of bi-regional relations in the future.

3.2 The regional embeddedness of the cultural dimension in Europe and LAC

3.2.1 European Union

Following the overall aim to build a united Europe, the 1973 Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity stressed the diversity of culture as an important factor within the framework of common European civilisation. Thus, it introduced the relevance of culture for the European integration process (European Commission, 1973: § 3). The 1992 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) made reference on the European internal market's role for the promotion of culture and cultural heritage conservation. The competences of the EU in the field of culture were defined as subsidiary in order to support, coordinate and supplement domestic Member State actions «only if necessary» (EU, 2012: art. 6). The Treaty established an independent EU competence in the cultural field, and authorised the EU «to take action at the international level in the cultural field, cooperating with third countries and international organisations» (EU, 2012: art. 107 3.d; 167).

Subsequent to the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, in 2007, the European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World (European Commission, 2007) was adopted. It was the EU's first explicit framework towards a cultural policy, replacing the concept of «cultural exception» by the concept of «cultural diversity». The Agenda emphasised three objectives: the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; the deployment of culture as a catalyst for creativity, enhancing growth and jobs; and the promotion of culture in the context of the Union's international relations (Smith, 2015: 17). Regarding the transformation of the EU's cultural exception discourse towards an «agenda under the slogan of cultural diversity» (Burri, 2015: 195), Mira Burri (2015: 203) points out that «the EU has played a particularly prominent role in both the shaping of the concept of cultural diversity and in the developments leading towards the adoption of this international legally binding instrument, which seeks to protect national sovereignty in matters of culture».

The notion of creativity in the 2007 European Agenda's objectives provided «a discursive link between culture, innovation and broader EU economic concerns such as growth, competitiveness and social cohesion» (Kandyla, 2015: 49). Thus, a direct nexus between economic challenges and the role of culture as a potential contribution to enhance economic performance and foster economic growth was established. According to Annabelle

Littoz-Monnet (2015: 28): «culture was presented as a direct source of creativity, and creativity was defined in terms of its potential for social and technological innovation, and thus as an ‘important driver of growth, competitiveness and jobs’». The leading EU agency behind this discourse was the DG EAC. It promoted the incorporation of a creativity frame into EU cultural policy; an approach which provided the basis for the Creative Europe programme (Littoz-Monnet, 2015: 25).

The relevance of culture to the EU’s external relations has been reinforced by various declarations and activities over the past decade. In May 2011, the European Parliament (EP) called for the development of a common EU strategy on culture in EU external relations (European Parliament, 2011). In 2012, the EP «launched a large-scale Preparatory Action (PA) – to be set in motion by the European Commission and executed by a bid-winning expert consortium. The purpose of the PA would be to analyse the existing situation as regards culture in the EU’s external relations and to carry out a comprehensive inquiry» (Isar, 2014: 17). As a result, in the years 2013 and 2014, the European Commission commissioned an inventory of the EU’s External Cultural Relations with 54 partner countries. The final report *Preparatory Action. Culture in EU External Relations. Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship* was presented in 2014 and contains recommendations on the future structure of foreign cultural relations (Isar, 2014). In 2016, the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy adopted a Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council entitled *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* (European Commission, 2016). This has been a basic document for the strategy of cultural relations with the EU’s partner countries fully in line with the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. The EU’s new Global Strategy (EU, 2017) and the 2017 New European Consensus on Development (Council of the European Union, 2017) also mention the importance of culture as part of European foreign and development policy. In May 2018, the European Commission presented another key document, *A New European Agenda for Culture* (European Commission, 2018). The three strategic dimensions of the New Agenda include not only the social and the economic, but also the external dimension of European cultural relations. The document mentions as central objectives of the EU’s foreign cultural relations: support culture as an engine for sustainable social and economic development; promote culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations; reinforce cooperation on cultural heritage (European Commission, 2018: 6). As always, this document also refers to the subsidiarity principle: «respecting the principle of subsidiarity, the EU’s role is to provide incentives and guidance to test new ideas and support Member States in advancing a shared agenda» (European Commission, 2018: 9). Nonetheless, the document is a clear political signal to the member states and institutions of the Union to further develop the role of culture in the EU’s external relations in the coming years.

3.2.2 Latin America and the Caribbean

All Latin American and Caribbean cooperation and integration mechanisms recognise culture as an important field of activity. In its founding document, the 2011 Caracas Declaration, CELAC described its integration mandate as political, social, economic and also cultural. Cultural cooperation and integration are considered as a tool to boost sustainable development in the region and to consolidate «a multi-polar and democratic world which is fair, balanced and at peace» (CELAC, 2011: § 25). The political declarations and action plans of the five CELAC summits held between 2013 and 2017 emphasise the importance of culture as a foundation of every country's and the region's overall identity, as a catalyst for regional integration, and as a motor contributing to sustainable development, to eradicate poverty and to decrease social gaps in the region. The relevance of cultural industries for national economies is highlighted as a generating tool for job opportunities (CELAC, 2014a: § 54; 2015a: § 20; 2016: § 49). Furthermore, accentuated in a special declaration, the field of culture is addressed as a promoter of human development (CELAC, 2014c).

To combat and prevent the illicit traffic of cultural goods is stressed as a key challenge of regional integration, which requires multilevel policy action. In this context, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property is highlighted as a reference document, which is to be strengthened (CELAC, 2014a: § 15; 2014b: § 8, 9; 2016: § 49; 2017b: § 2). With reference to cultural diversity as a key feature for peace and security on different levels, commitment is expressed in order to adopt measures guided by the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (CELAC, 2017a). As a normative international frame, it is perceived of major relevance for developing countries (CELAC, 2015a: § 14).

In 2013, CELAC established an annual Meeting of Ministers of Culture (LACULT, 2017). It replaced the Forum of Ministers of Culture and Officials in Charge of Cultural Policies of Latin America and the Caribbean created in 1989, which had been coordinated and funded by UNESCO until 2014. The Final Declaration published on the occasion of the III Meeting of Ministers of Culture of CELAC in September 2015 welcomed the initiative of UNESCO in the preparation of a Culture Work Plan for Latin America and the Caribbean (2016-2021). It encouraged its enrichment through participatory and joint work with the countries that make up CELAC (CELAC, 2015b: § 15). With the aim to «preserve cultural heritage and promote culture in favour of productive economic growth, poverty eradication and sustainable development» (CELAC, 2015a: § 21), the Ministerial Meeting launched the Cultural Action Plan 2015-2020, defining 45 concrete activities in four thematic areas: Social Development and Culture; Cultural Industries, Creative Economy and Innovation; Protection and Conservation of Cultural Heritage; Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Arts and Creativity (LACULT, 2015).

While European regionalism has a central organisation with the EU, CELAC, founded in 2011, merely plays the role of a network for the concertation of common positions of Latin American and Caribbean countries in international politics. Sub-regional integration bodies such as the Andean Community, the Central American Integration System, CARICOM or Mercosur, on the other hand, are much more institutionalised. The main objectives of these organisations relate to economic and trade issues, but they also play an important role in the cultural cooperation of their respective members, as do the new regional projects UNASUR, ALBA and Pacific Alliance. As these organisations and networks are also important partners for the EU's external cultural relations, in the following we explain the main approaches to cultural cooperation in the above-mentioned institutions.

The Andean Community of Nations (CAN) institutionalised a regular meeting of Culture Ministers in 2010 as Andean Council of Ministers and Authorities of Culture. Main objectives of the Council's meetings have been the creation of an Andean System on Cultural Information, the development of legislation to promote cultural industries, the promotion of the circulation of cultural goods, cultural services and cultural manifestations or expressions which originated in the region, the training of Andean cultural actors and managers, and the creation of an online network to foster exchange of cultural entrepreneurs within the region.

The Central American integration process has had a cultural dimension since the 1980s. From 1994 onwards, the Cultural and Educational Coordination of Central America (CECC) has pursued education and culture as guidelines to foster Central American regional integration in terms of sustainable human development and with regards to socio-cultural and natural diversity. Most of the programmes and projects promoted by CECC address the improvement of quality of education. The programmes executed in the field of culture concentrate on the region's popular culture, cultural heritage and cultural diversity and literature as well as the audiovisual sector.

Mercosur has had a Meeting of Ministers of Culture since 1995. In 1996, the organisation adopted a Protocol on Cultural Integration. In 2003, specialised meetings of Cinematographic and Audiovisual Authorities of Mercosur were initiated (Europe Aid, 2008; RECAM, 2007). Based on the 2008 Declaration on Cultural Integration, the cultural dimension was institutionalised as Mercosur Cultural. Its entities are subordinated to the Meeting of Ministers of Culture and include the MERCOSUR Cultural Information System (2009), the Mercosur Cultural Secretary (2010), as well as four specialised commissions on Arts, Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, Creative Economy and Cultural Industries (Mercosur Cultural, 2017; LACULT, 2014).

The inclusion of the cultural dimension into the institutional framework of CARICOM dates back to 1985, when the Regional Cultural Committee (RCC) was established. In

1994, CARICOM Member States agreed on a Regional Cultural Policy designed to profile the importance of culture within the Caribbean Community and to foster its development. The approach was thought as a model for national cultural policies by including guidelines on policy issues like cultural and artistic promotion, cultural heritage or funding. It has also established the concept of an «Ideal Caribbean Person», which takes into account the region's ethnic, religious and other diversities as a source of potential strength and richness (CARICOM, 1997: 2-3, 18-19).

In its foundational principles, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – Peoples' Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP) highlights «the contribution of trade and investments to strengthening of the cultural and historical identity of our peoples» and seeks to distinguish itself from consumption focused free trade agreements by taking into account «the diversity of cultural expressions in the trade» (ALBA, 2010). The summit declarations of the Alliance address the right to defend historical and cultural values, especially regarding the consumption of coca leaves as «an age-old ancestral and intrinsic tradition» of Bolivian people (ALBA, 2009). Identifying the international «great transnational media power» as its antagonist, the Alliance put the media sector in focus (ALBA, 2012).

The constitutive treaty of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) established the promotion of cultural diversity as a specific objective. It should be achieved through the encouragement within its Member States of the expression of memory and knowledge of the people of the region. In this way their overall identity should be strengthened (UNASUR, 2011: art. 3). In 2012, the South American Council of Culture (CSC) was established. Its main objectives are the promotion and strengthening of cultural cooperation in the region, the recognition and promotion of the core value of culture as a prerequisite for development and to overcome poverty and inequality as well as the promotion of the reduction of regional and sub-regional asymmetries in order to increase universal access to culture.

The Pacific Alliance (AP) established a Technical Group on Culture in 2015 to promote the development of the cultural and creative industries of its Member States. The activities of the group are focused on the development of statistical information on culture, the creation of regional and international webs linked to the cultural sector, the realisation of common cultural events, and the production of a mini-series on history, arts and commerce in the Pacific covering the centuries between 16th and 21st (AP, 2015).

3.3 The cultural dimension of EU-(CE)LAC relations

In the following, it will be analysed how and to what extent the cross-cutting topics of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability are addressed within the cultural dimension. This analysis takes into account three levels: a) relations between the EU and the CELAC; b) relations between the EU and the sub-regional bodies as well as new regional

projects in LAC; c) relations between the EU and its two strategic partners, Brazil and Mexico. While at the first level the cultural dimension is addressed exclusively in the context of political dialogue, at the second and the third levels, in addition to political dialogue, there exist also concrete culture-related programmes.

For a long time, the EU sought a bloc to bloc relationship in its relations with LAC. Since this was not consistent with the realities of Latin American and Caribbean regionalism, the European Commission in 2005/2006 changed its foreign policy guidelines on relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. It paved the way for broad cooperation on various levels: bilateral, sub-regional and bi-regional (European Commission, 2005; 2006: 18). The ratification of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the setting of the EU European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World in 2007 established a direct link between the cultural dimension and the Commission's multilevel approach in the field of cooperation. This development was underpinned by the 2007 Agenda's definition of the EU as one of the main drivers behind the successful implementation of 2005 UNESCO Convention (Loisen, 2015: 215). Since then, the EU deploys a multilevel cultural cooperation strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean (Crusafon, 2015: 229). This strategy is implemented in diverse frameworks of collaboration with sub-regional entities and individual countries. Of the framework agreements with a cultural dimension negotiated under the DG Trade umbrella, until today, only two agreements of bilateral extent are fully in place (Chile, Mexico), three are partly implemented (CARIFORUM, Central America, Peru/Colombia/Ecuador) and one is currently under negotiation (Mercosur). The cultural cooperation programmes implemented under DG EAC and within the strategic partnerships (EU-Brazil/Mexico) have not been continued in subsequent funding periods.

In the following, we will discuss separately the bi-regional political dialogue as well as specific policies and programmes related to the four cross-cutting topics.

3.3.1 Mobility

Political dialogue

Cultural mobility gathers constant attention in the realm of political dialogue between EU and LAC. Bi-regional exchanges among cultural actors are highlighted as «one of the most efficient and effective means to promote mutual understanding, learning and cultural production» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 61). The exchange of experts and techniques in the respective cultural sectors are seen as an appropriate strategy to foster respect for cultural identities as well as cultural and linguistic diversity. Both are described as factors that guarantee human dignity and sustainable development (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 46; Ac-

tion Plan, 2002: § 74; 2004: § 92). The EU as well as LAC recognise cultural industries and the audiovisual sector as major pillars of cultural and economic cooperation. Efforts to deepen exchange should be enhanced in order to promote respect for cultural identities, cultural and linguistic diversity as well as to foster intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 62; 2002: § 75; 2004: § 92; 2006: § 54; 2010a: 19).

Almost all cooperation frameworks share the conviction that cultural mobility is essential to promote intercultural dialogue and foster mutual understanding. In addition, they also share the common goal to boost the respective cultural industries (EEAS, 2008: 17; Council of the European Union, 2010: 30). One of their key objectives is to promote the exchange of cultural goods, activities and services. In addition, the documents define specific objectives, taking into account each cultural sector's particularities (European Commission, 2012a: art. 1.1). Those encompass mainly the fields of labour mobility, e.g. the facilitation of exchanges between practitioners in performing arts (European Commission, 2012a: art. 6.1; 2012b: art. 8.1); the exchange of knowledge, expertise, best practices and information, e.g. regarding the protection of sites and historic monuments or the digitisation of audiovisual archives (Council of the European Union, 2010: 31; European Commission, 2012b: art. 7); or the sharing of experiences between stakeholders and institutions, e.g. in the field of culture specific policy-making (EEAS 2008: 2; European Commission, 2012b: art. 6.2). For the achievement of these goals, the cooperation frameworks propose various formats and instruments that promote mobility. Main examples within the cultural dimension are joint activities (e.g. expert seminars, trainings, studies, conferences, co-productions, and regular dialogues), professional exchanges and the general promotion of networks (EEAS 2008: 1; European Commission, 2012b: art. 8.1).

Policies and programmes

Concrete programmes addressing cultural mobility issues only existed with the strategic partner countries – Brazil and Mexico. In the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 (European Commission, 2011b), the EU and Brazil agreed on sharing experiences on cultural policy-making and on the exchange of technical missions on cultural heritage. This included cooperation between museums, expert seminars, studies and conferences. Besides the implementation of exchange formats and instruments, like a round table with Brazilian cultural personalities (Brussels 2011) or a conference on the cultural and creative economy (2012), there is only a vague announcement of further activities in the field of cultural mobility (Crusafon, 2015: 230; Smits, 2014: 23). In the scope of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, two co-financed Joint Cultural Funds were launched. The first phase of the Cultural Fund (2008-2010) encompassed six projects of which two focussed their activities on art exchange. This phase began prior to the establishment of the bilateral strategic partnership and was funded with an amount of almost 1 million euros. During

the second phase of the Cultural Fund (2009-2012), with a total budget of 5.6 million euros, one out of three programmes aimed to foster cultural exchange within the film sector (Council of the European Union, 2010; Crusafon, 2015: 229; Schneider, 2014: 20).

Beyond these agreements with Brazil and Mexico, the European Commission counts on additional instruments for bilateral cooperation with strategic partners in the field of culture. They address mobility in different ways. The EU Culture Programme 2007-2013, conducted by the Directorate-General of Education and Culture (DG EAC), directly targeted the strategic partners in LAC. Thus, Brazil (2008: 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011: 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). Three out of seven activities realised in the case of Brazil, with a total amount of almost 600,000 euros, defined the mobility and exchange of artistic works, artists and professionals in Europe and Brazil as important project goals (Smits, 2014: 39-41). In the case of Mexico, mobility and the circulation of cultural assets were among the explicit objectives in 6 out of 13 projects. Other objectives related to the exchange of artists, knowledge, ideas and best practices between Mexico and the EU. Overall, a budget of 700,000 euros was available for these programmes.

The Directorate-General of Development and Cooperation (DG DEVCO) conducts various cooperation programmes in which culture plays a certain role. The Mercosur Audiovisual Programme (2009-2011) received 1.5 million euros (80% of the total budget) from the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), which is a DG DEVCO funding tool. The programme was mainly directed towards the strengthening of the film and audiovisual sectors within Mercosur. The exchange of experiences with EU institutions and partners was merely addressed in the context of sector specific professional and technical training (Europe Aid, 2008: 7). The DG DEVCO's Investing in People Programme (50 million euros) addressed to countries belonging to the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) focused on the exchange of cultural industries and cultural actors «as a way of allowing multicultural and multi-ethnic dialogues to improve mutual understanding and respect» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 69). Due to the missing focus on the Caribbean ACP countries, the programme was hardly taken into account by CARIFORUM's ACP Member States (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 25).

3.3.2 Inequality

Political dialogue

Inequality plays only a minor role within the framework of bi-regional political dialogue on cultural issues. The Summit Declarations adopted until 2006 regularly emphasise the common cultural heritage and mutual historical links as well as the wealth and diversity of the respective cultural expressions. They address these communalities as a compara-

tive advantage that allows building an alliance between both regions in a «spirit of equality and respect» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 1; 2002 a/b; 2004: § 3; 2006: § 2). The summits' statements also underline the importance of the cultural and educational spheres. Particular importance is assigned to the access to education for everybody and the right of peoples to preserve their cultural and linguistic diversity. Both are considered to be key factors to achieve a solid partnership and to reduce social inequalities in both regions (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 54; 64). The Summit Declarations stress the need to jointly combat xenophobia and discrimination. They underline that efforts have to be taken to guarantee respect for cultural diversity in order to increase social cohesion and diminish, *inter alia*, inequality and social exclusion (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 40).

The Summit Declarations adopted between 2008 and 2015 either fail to mention the issue of inequality within the cultural dimension of the bi-regional relations or display the topic in a broader sense. An example of this logic is the declaration adopted at the first EU-CELAC summit in 2013, in which the parties expressed their will to foster equality and social inclusion and the importance of the citizens' participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of public policies (EU-CELAC Summit, 2013a: § 17).

In the scope of the relations between the EU and individual LAC countries, sub-regions or sub-regional entities, the topic of inequality gathers explicit attention only in the course of the 2008 EU-Brazil strategic partnership and the respective Joint Action Plan (EEAS, 2008: 14, 17). When defining objectives in the field of cultural cooperation, the contracting parties contextualise the promotion of social inclusion with the improvement of access to culture by fostering, *inter alia*, cultural activities at local level (EEAS, 2008: 17). Other culture-specific frameworks on bilateral level address inequality merely in terms of including sectorial particularities into more general cooperation guidelines with the aim to provide equal attention to distinct facets of the cultural field (European Commission, 2011a: 2; 2011b: 2; 2012a/b; Council of the European Union, 2010: 32).

Policies and programmes

Specific programmes addressing the issue of inequality in the cultural dimension exist only in the context of the EU's bilateral relations with Latin American partners. This applies above all to strategic partnerships with Brazil and Mexico. As part of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, during the second phase of the Cultural Fund (2009-2012), with a total budget of 5.6 million euros, two out of three programmes addressed the issue of inequality. They mentioned the «social inclusion of young people through the promotion of cultural opportunities», referred to the «strengthening [of] the cultural identity and [the promotion of] new forms of socialisation, which respect the principles of multiculturalism, cultural heritage and the identity of rural communities, and in particular indigenous

peoples; as well as the principles of participatory democracy, in order to reduce disparities and inequalities in terms of social, cultural and economic development» (*Identidad Cultural y Desarrollo Comunitario en Campeche y Oaxaca*; project budget: 800.000 euros; Schneider, 2014: 20-21).

In addition to the strategic partnership frameworks, the European Commission's DG EAC launched the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013. In this context, the LAC counterparts of strategic partnerships enjoyed increased attention. Thus, Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). In the case of Brazil, one out of seven activities addressed the issue of inequality by recognising in the project's guidelines the value of cultural diversity against all sorts of exclusion. In the case of Mexico, two out of 13 collaborative activities included the issue of inequality in their proposals. They addressed inequality indirectly as they focused on marginalised neighbourhoods as target areas (Schneider, 2014: 21-26).

3.3.3 Diversity

Political dialogue

The Summit Declaration adopted in Rio de Janeiro in 1999 identifies «the wealth and diversity of our respective cultural expressions» as a central pillar for a strategic bi-regional partnership (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 1). Similarly, the Madrid Summit Declaration (2002) highlights diversity, along with cultural heritage, as a fundamental link of bi-regional integration (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 59; 2002: § 76). Diversity and plurality are considered to be fundamental principles for the development of the bi-regional relationship «without distinction of race, religion or gender, precepts that constitute the ideal means of achieving an open, tolerant and inclusive society where the individual's right to freedom and mutual respect is enshrined through equitable access to productive capacity, health, education and civil protection» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 54; 2002: § 66). The promotion of cultural industries such as the audio-visual sector through economic cooperation and exchange between cultural sectors are seen as pathways to guarantee human dignity and social development by encouraging respect for cultural and linguistic diversity (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 60, 61; 2002: § 74, 75). The 2004 Guadalajara Summit Declaration also emphasised the importance of cultural industries (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 92). The 2004 summit marks a decline of attention to cultural diversity, which may be connected to the upcoming UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005. In further summit declarations, the role of cultural diversity is either not taken into account or is hardly mentioned. The broad support by EU and LAC

countries to the 2005 UNESCO Convention apparently led to decreasing attention to the topic of cultural diversity in the context of the bi-regional summit talks.

On the contrary, the ratification of the 2005 UNESCO Convention led to growing attention towards cultural diversity in the context of bilateral and sub-regional agreements. There is consensus that the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue are important elements of foreign policy strategies. All documents express a strong commitment to the 2005 UNESCO Convention, its definitions, contents and concepts. Some documents address cultural diversity as a shared topic or an issue of common interest, whereas others highlight cultural diversity as an objective to be implemented in the course of cultural policies. Within the frameworks of the strategic partnerships with Brazil and Mexico, cultural diversity is emphasised as a concept to be promoted to the enhancement of intercultural dialogue and to the fostering of cultural and creative industries (EEAS, 2008: 17; Council of the European Union, 2010: 31).

Policies and programmes

Concrete programmes addressing cultural diversity existed only within the EU's strategic partnerships with Mexico and Brazil. The EU-Brazil Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 identified the implementation of the 2005 UNESCO Convention as a priority. This seems to substantiate the activities realised in this context that nonetheless lack of any further programmatic specification with regard to cultural diversity. In the case of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, the second Joint Cultural Fund (2009-2012, that follows the first Joint Cultural Fund 2008-2010) was launched in order to promote cultural diversity as well as cultural industries (Council of the European Union, 2010: 32; Crusafon, 2015: 229). One out of five activities (Slam Poetry 2012) realised under the umbrella of the Joint Cultural Fund had a focus on cultural diversity (Schneider, 2014: 20).

There are additional cooperation formats provided by the European Commission which address diversity within the field of culture. In the scope of the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013, conducted by the DG EAC, Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). In the case of Brazil, one out of seven programmes accentuated cultural diversity as a valuable concept «against all sorts of exclusion» (Smits 2014: 40). In the case of Mexico, two out of 13 programmes referred to cultural diversity in quality of a programmatic purpose (Schneider, 2014: 25, 27).

As affiliates of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP), some CARIFORUM Member States became beneficiaries of the ACP-EU Cultural Fund. This fund is managed by the DG DEVCO under the umbrella of the 10th European Development Fund.

It has to be noted «that these [funds] were not tied to the EU-CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement» (Europe Aid, 2014: 24; Lisack 2014: 19; KEA European Affairs, 2011: 22). The programme launched in this context, ACP Culture+ (with a total budget of 12 million euros), emphasised the «strengthening of the capacity of institutions in the ACP countries to implement the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 68). It addressed in different sub-programmes the audiovisual sector, the production and distribution of ACP cultural goods, as well as «the improvement of the policy and regulatory environment for culture» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 22). The DG DEVCO Investing in People Programme (2007-2013, with a total budget of 50 million euros) followed the objective «Access to local culture, protection and promotion of cultural diversity» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 69). The programme was hardly taken into account by CARIFORUM's ACP Member States; only few of them submitted proposals for this call (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 25). The European Commission's MEDIA Mundus Programme 2011-2013 was established for third countries, thus ACP countries, in order to «strengthen [the] cooperation [...] in the audio-visual sector by promoting competitiveness of the sector and cultural diversity» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 27).

3.3.4 Sustainability

Political dialogue

The 1999 Rio de Janeiro Declaration highlights the diversity of cultural expressions. It emphasises the profound and unifying character of a common cultural heritage as the basis for a bi-regional partnership and as endowing factors to meet the principle of sustainable development (EU-LAC Summit, 1999, § 1). The 2002 Madrid Declaration addressed sustainability within the cultural dimension in a broader context, recognising the importance of promoting sustainable tourism as an effective instrument for economic and cultural development (EU-LAC Summit, 2002: § 51). Both regions declared in that Summit their commitment to contribute to sustainable development by promoting higher education, in order to interpret, preserve and promote culture in its pluralist and cultural diversity context (EU-LAC Summit, 2002: § 73). In the 2004 Guadalajara Declaration, commitments for regional integration projects which are designed to promote sustainable cultural development were given. Concerning the bi-regional basis, the parties aspired to foster cultural dialogue which «reflect[s] cultural identity, as well as cultural and linguistic diversity, and which benefit[s] human development, as a contribution to sustainable development, stability and peace» (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 91). In later summit declarations, the aspect of sustainability within the cultural dimension is either less displayed or not addressed. The issue of sustainability reappears in the 2013 EU-CELAC Summit Dec-

laration, where the parties express the common will to support «all initiatives which imply the strengthening of cooperation, the transfer of knowledge and the preservation and conservation of natural and cultural heritage [...]» in order to achieve sustainable development (EU-CELAC Summit, 2013a: § 13).

In the scope of the relations between the EU and individual LAC countries, sub-regions or sub-regional entities, the aspect of sustainability in the cultural dimension finds attention only in joint action plans agreed on with Brazil (2008) and Mexico (2010). In the case of the EU-Brazil strategic partnership, the parties mention the improvement of access to culture as a common goal, in order to promote sustainable development (EEAS, 2008: 17). In the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014, the promotion of sustainable cultural tourism is considered as a socioeconomic benefit of cultural heritage. The development of a sustainable cultural and creative economy is mentioned as one of the objectives to achieve during their four-year joint action (European Commission, 2011a: 1; 2011b: 2). Within the strategic partnership with Mexico, cooperation in the field of sustainable development is highlighted as one of the most significant bilateral agenda subjects. In this realm, culture and education are addressed as being of great relevance for sustainable development (Council of the European Union, 2010: 4).

Policies and programmes

A concrete activity that takes into account sustainability in the cultural dimension could only be identified within the framework of the strategic partnership between the EU and Brazil. It refers to a bilateral seminar on culture and sustainable development, held in Brasilia in May 2013 in the course of the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 (Smits, 2014: 23; European Commission, 2011a: 1).

Beyond the strategic partnership frameworks, the European Commission's DG EAC launched the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013. Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). None of the seven activities realised in the case of Brazil addressed sustainability with regard to culture. In the case of Mexico at least one out of 13 cooperation activities put sustainability and culture into the programmatic focus by seeking «to explore how culture, during a global financial crisis, can contribute to the development of a sustainable society through international cooperation and cohesion» (Schneider, 2014: 22).

The European Commission's DG DEVCO realised an EU/UNESCO Expert Facility Programme in order «to strengthen the governance for culture in developing countries and reinforce the role of culture as a vector for sustainable development and poverty reduction» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 71). Although the programme was «not set up [...] to

implement the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation of the [EU-CARIFORUM] EPA», it is considered to «be useful for some CARIFORUM countries to implement the ‘technical assistance’ commitments embodied in the Protocol» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 28).

3.4 Achievements and challenges

What are the achievements and challenges of bi-regional relations between the EU and CELAC in the cultural dimension with regard to the cross-cutting-topics of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability? First of all, it should be noted that the four topics that we analysed have a different meaning in the context of cultural relations between both regions. Great attention in political dialogue is given to mobility and diversity. In contrast, the issues of inequality and sustainability are given less attention in the cultural dimension. A significant achievement is a consensus on the discursive level on certain shared core values and common goals. This is especially the case with regard to the importance of mobility, cultural diversity, the protection of minority rights and the preservation of traditional cultures. Cultural mobility is consistently considered as a key prerequisite for promoting intercultural dialogue and foster mutual understanding. Cultural diversity and plurality, as well as the protection of cultural heritage, are considered fundamental principles for the development of the bi-regional partnership. For example, the mutual respect for cultural diversity between the EU and Mexico was emphasised in the first Partnership Agreement of 1994, and reaffirmed again and again in later years. It can also be seen as an achievement that the 2008 Economic Partnership Agreement between the CARIFORUM States of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States of the other part, for the first time included cultural aspects in an agreement focusing on economic and trade issues. In particular, the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation annexed to the Agreement should be seen as an achievement regarding the positioning of the cultural dimension. It also focuses on the fight against structural imbalances and provides preferential treatments, which is clearly an achievement in the struggle to reduce inequalities and structural asymmetries. The text of the protocol is also an achievement in terms of the promotion of the mobility of artists, as it provides for a simplified entry of artists from CARIFORUM member countries into the EU. Sustainability is rather indirectly addressed in the cultural dimension, for example with regard to sustainable tourism as an effective instrument for economic and cultural development. In addition, sustainable development is considered an important prerequisite for the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity.

Despite all the achievements, bi-regional cultural relations are facing great challenges. Cultural cooperation between the EU and CARIFORUM members is a good example. The Protocol on Cultural Cooperation does not foresee any financial commitments for its implementation by the EU or its Member States. There are no plans for specific programmes

to implement the Protocol. Nor have the artistic co-productions of European and Caribbean cultural creators provided for in the protocol been set in motion as far as we are aware. The market access rules for cultural professionals agreed between the EU and CARIFORUM are binding. However, they merely record the existing rules and do not go beyond them. One of the main problems for many cultural operators from the Caribbean with regard to access to the European cultural market is the fact that there are no uniform European rules but very different rules of access from country to country (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 13ff.). What has been stated in another study on access to the EU for cultural workers from all over the world, of course, applies to cultural relations with LAC: «the current visa regime stands in flagrant contradiction to the desire for deeper cultural relations. Its negative impact has already cast a long shadow on cultural relations activities everywhere» (Isar, 2014: 101f.).

Another challenge concerns the question of how certain elements of the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation are interpreted. While representatives of the European Commission consider the provisions of the Protocol to be «politically» binding, the representatives of individual EU countries see them as merely a set of best endeavours. They do not derive any obligation to act from them (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 15). The Caribbean partners also identify a number of aspects that make it difficult for many Caribbean artists to take advantage of the Protocol's potential benefits. These include a weak organisation of the cultural sector, lack of knowledge of cultural practitioners on how to benefit from the cultural provisions, absence of information on market access requirements and opportunities in EU Member States, and difficulty to meet the requirements of provisions for the audiovisual sector (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 15).

With regard to the cultural dimension of relations between the EU and its strategic partners, Brazil and Mexico, the cultural activities initiated in the first decade of the new millennium do not seem to have continued. Both countries are now considered to be middle income countries and are therefore no longer eligible to apply for the DCI budgets as they could beforehand. The Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 between the EU and Brazil has not continued. Neither the Declaration on the 7th EU-Brazil Summit in 2014 nor the Joint Declaration on the tenth anniversary of the launch of the Strategic Partnership in 2017 mention cultural issues. Efforts to develop cultural cooperation between Europe and Brazil beyond national activities appear to have largely shifted to EUNIC's involvement. In 2018, EUNIC, in cooperation with the EU Delegation to Brazil, held a European Week (*Semana da Europa*) for the 14th time in Brazil. These activities are also an attempt to respond to the challenge of lacking visibility of the EU as a cultural actor. The EU is perceived primarily as a trading bloc. If that is going to change, the EU, not just in Brazil, needs to invest in its visibility as a cultural player; it must develop a common narrative (Smits, 2014: 25ff.). Such a narrative must not be confined to conjuring up again and

again the assumed shared values and cultural similarities between the two regions. Of course, there are many things in common, but history, especially from a Latin American perspective, is often a burden that is far too little addressed and acknowledged by the Europeans. The EU can no longer confine itself to drawing a harmonious picture of the common past and present time and time again.

The experiences of the EU's cultural cooperation with Mexico reveal another challenge: the different expectations on the partner side. While the Mexican cultural authority CONACULTA expects the EU to be more involved in cultural heritage protection, the CDI (*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*), which is responsible for indigenous affairs, is more interested in promoting the cultural diversity of indigenous communities. In turn, the organisation ProMéxico is primarily interested in accessing new cultural markets (Schneider, 2014: 14ff).

In addition, we would like to address a set of further challenges to the external cultural relations of the EU, which not only relate to cooperation with LAC. Many cultural activities in third countries still take place on an *ad hoc* basis. The EU Delegations very often have neither dedicated budgets, nor staff members who are qualified for cultural activities. Moreover, cultural activities are still too one-sidedly conceived as a promotion for the EU and not as reciprocal activities (Isar, 2014: 104). The external cultural relations of the EU need a strategic framework if they are to be more effective. This includes intra-European coordination mechanisms both between the various Community institutions and between the EU and the Member States. For example, the various directorates-general of the Commission dealing with cultural issues (DG EAC, DG DEVCO, DG TRADE) would need to work together more institutionally, not just on an *ad hoc* basis. In terms of coordinating the activities of national cultural institutions, the work of EUNIC is a step in the right direction.

As the main responsibilities for cultural activities will remain within the Member States, it would be important to pool national resources in the interests of a stronger EU cultural policy. This could benefit smaller EU countries, which otherwise would not be able to engage in LAC because of limited and scarce resources. Thus, such pooling or «subsidiary complementarity» (Isar, 2014: 10) would also contribute to reducing inequalities within the EU. In order for such resource pooling to be more widely accepted by the individual states, it would also be necessary, especially from the perspective of already active countries, to clarify the added value of a European cultural policy vis-à-vis national commitments.

Finally, another challenge arising from the Preparatory Action Report concerns communication. This applies both to the languages used (here, multilingualism is explicitly required) as well as the type and channels of communication. Young people in particular are hardly attracted to the cultural activities of the EU so far.

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